1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621 622 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

554 [622] 193 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses. Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono* 554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was 554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange- 264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the 574 natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

554 565 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the dough soft, for *popoi* is not made to be chewed but to be swallowed. The proportions of *ma* to fresh breadfruit vary. Some *popoi* is made with two packages of *ma* to one fruit; some, when it is desired very sweet or for children, with one package of *ma* to two fruits. Ordinarily, enough is made at a time to last a week, but for babies it is made fresh daily.

Popoi is always eaten with water and there are various island fashions for doing this. On Ua Pou, for example, each person has a small individual coconut-shell bowl of water, in which to dip his two fingers full of *popoi* scooped from the common bowl, and in which to rinse his fingers. The fashion on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa prescribes putting water into the big bowl filled with *popoi* for the whole family, so that one can wrap his two fingers with *poipoi*, moisten it, rinse his fingers and his mouth all at the same time. When the *popoi* is finished, someone drains the bowl of its last drop of water. Melville says *poipoi* was wrapped around the forefinger of the right hand, when eaten (23, p. 77): Du Petit Thouars agrees with what I have been told regarding the use of two fingers (10, p. 362).

As fresh breadfruit becomes scarcer *popoi ma* becomes the staple and they *kahio* the *popoi*—that is, mix it with some other ingredient. Taro (*ta'o*) was baked in its rough coat in former times but at the present time it is boiled, the coat scraped off, and the remainder mixed with the cooked *ma*, the two being pounded together. *Popoi ta'o* dipped in coconut milk is often a substitute in inter-breadfruit seasons for *makiko* or *mei hupaku* for feeding young children. Sometimes ripe bananas are mixed with the raw *ma*, cooked with it in leaf packages, and afterwards pounded to a paste. In recent times raw grated pumpkin, manioc and flour are mixed with the raw *ma* and cooked in the same way. A few breadfruits, called *pateo*, come after the season. These are never wasted.

OTHER BREADFRUIT DISHES

Mei omi.—When the breadfruit season is at its height and dishes other than *popoi* are being made of it, a favorite dish with which to begin the day is *mei omi*. The breadfruit is roasted on an open wood fire, its skin removed, and the hot flesh mashed with cold water into a paste. At the present time, *ti kava*, a very strong tea, is its accompaniment, but salted fish or meat (*inai*) belongs with it. The simplest method of preparing breadfruit is by roasting on a wood fire, as a potato in the skin.

Ka'aku.—The dish called *ko'ehi* in the southern group and *ka'aku* in the northern, is simply made, the roasted breadfruit being taken from the wood fire, peeled, and mixed with coconut milk, pounded till soft, and eaten without further cooking. Garcia says this dish (which he calls *kakou*)

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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771 to some they are greatly superior, and after their death they rank with the chief divinity. Besides the gods at the burying-place, or morai, for so it is called by them, they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones. Others are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs. But these gods are not held in any estimation; they are sold, exchanged, and given away with the same indifference as any other object, and indeed the most precious relic, the skulls and other bones of their relations, are disposed of with equal indifference.

In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby-houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high, and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

352 It remains for me now to say something of their domestic economy, their furniture, utensils, and implements. I have already described their houses, from which it will be seen that their apartments are few, and that however numerous may be the family, they have but one common sleeping place. This is covered with dry grass, on which mats are spread for the chief persons; the servants and others sleep on the grass alone, or on mats if they have them. It has been represented by former voyagers, that
● 264 the women of this great nation distributed among the South Sea Islands, are not permitted to sit at meals with the men, or allowed to eat pork on any occasion. Those people are an exception; men, women, and children eat together, although each have their messes in separate dishes, and the women are not prohibited from eating pork, except during the existence of taboos. Even then they eat it, if the men are not present, or if they will only have the complaisance to turn away their faces, and not seem to notice them; which they generally do.

Among tribes not tabooed I have seen men and women eating pork together, which was the case at Lewis's Bay, as I before mentioned. The men and women are both remarkably fond of

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of 844

1804. May. cutting off the navel-string; and till it is performed, nobody can come in or go out of the house in which the child is. All prohibitions are signified here by the word taboo; which is divided into the king's taboo and the taboo of the priests, and is very strictly observed by the commonalty: the powerful, however, sometimes violate it.

Every inhabitant of the island may possess property by suc- 565
cession, or in any other way. There are rich and poor here. The rich have plantations, houses, and canoes; the poor have nothing, and pass their days like others of the same station in the rest of the world. All the houses are built alike, and re- 565
semble summer bowers, as I have before observed in describing 342
the king's habitation. I admired the cleanliness of the interior [356]
of these small houses. The opulent have separate buildings for
their dining-rooms, on particular occasions of feasting, which [264]
the women are not permitted to enter; and so strict is the pro-
hibition, that they dare not even pass near them. The selfish
gluttony of the men, who would deprive the other sex of the
pleasure of eating pork, I believe, is the origin of this custom. [262]

Besides a magazine for provisions, the rich have small gardens, 565
or rather enclosures, round their houses, planted with trees, of 351
the bark of which a sort of cloth is made. The magazines are [287]
merely deep holes dug in the ground, and covered with leaves,
clay, and sand. There are no kitchens to the houses. The food
is prepared in any spot near the habitation, in the open air, in
the same manner as in other islands in these seas, and which
many navigators have described.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

wood are embellished with a handsome red pea. The women tie up their long hair in knots, and, on ceremonious occasions, besmear themselves like the men. 1804. May.

The food of these islanders consists chiefly of fish, swine, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, bread-fruit, tarro-root, and sugar-cane. The last is rather a scarce article; as also is pork, which seldom makes its appearance but on occasions of festivity. Both sexes eat their meals together, except when public dinners are given in the dining-rooms, where women dare not appear, for reasons which I have before assigned.

In case of a bad harvest the poor suffer dreadfully, as they never lay up a sufficient stock of provisions to prevent the horrors of famine. A few years ago, numbers of them were obliged to roam among the mountains in search of what they could find, leaving their wives and children at home dying with hunger. Roberts told me, that in the bay of Tayohaia only, four hundred perished on this occasion. In these times of dearth, every one was in danger, he said, of losing his life; not only for want of nourishment, but from the violence of one stronger than himself, who may seize and devour him.

Considering the mild temper of the inhabitants of this island, it is difficult to believe that they are cannibals. Roberts, however, assured me, that the bodies of the prisoners taken in war were eaten, all but the sculls, which were preserved for trophies. We purchased several of these sculls, paying a knife for each; but neither their wearing them as trophies, nor offering them for sale, proves cannibalism: like other savages, they may cut off

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. xv), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*.

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250).

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three.

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[*] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con-

[*] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling. No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were some food taboos for women. There were a number of permanent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. However, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elaboration and decoration of the various objects used in connection with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months. Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders.

In the article of eating, these people are by no means so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty in their cookery. Captain Cook says he saw them make a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a vessel that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands which were equally dirty; and when he expressed dislike, was laughed at.

Hogs are the only quadrupeds they saw; and cocks and hens were the only tame fowls. However, the woods seem to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage and fine notes.

With a fine easterly wind they steered till the 17th, when land was seen bearing W. half N., which, upon a nearer approach, they found to be a string of low islets connected together by a reef of coral rocks.

As they steered along the coast, the natives appeared in several places, armed with long spears and clubs, and some were got together on one side of the creek. Two boats well-armed were sent ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them. They saw them land without the least opposition. Some little time after, however, observing forty or fifty natives, all armed, coming towards the boats, they stood close in shore, in order to be ready to support their people in case of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after the boats returned on board, when Mr. Cooper informed the Captain that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed they were unwelcome visitors. They brought on board five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got by exchanges two dozen.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea, was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has something of an oval shape, and is about ten leagues in circuit.

[pp 168 to end, not processed]